REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
AFFAIRS,
AT
HOME and ABROAD,
PARTICULARLY
With Regard to Subsidies, and the Differences between *Great Britain* and *France*.

IN A
LETTER
FROM A
MEMBER of PARLIAMENT
TO A
CONSTITUENT.

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REFLECTIONS, &c.

SIR,

YOU will perhaps be ſurpriz'd at this Addreſs from one, you little imagin'd would ever commence Author, eſpecially in Politics. But the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs, is ſo very critical, as perhaps not to be parallell'd in any Period of the Hiſtory of *Europe*; and calls for ſome Explanation. But why from you? It may be ſaid. To tell you the Truth, I do it partly for my own ſake, and partly for the Information of the Public. The Part I have taken and am

determined to take in parliamentary Meaſures, is diametrically contrary to all printed Politicks of theſe Times. And though I do not think myſelf accountable, not even to my Conſtituents, for my Conduct in Parliament, yet it would be a kind of Inſolence, ſhould I refuſe, to arm my Friends with thoſe Arguments that can juſtify a Conduct, which, conſidering my former Attachments, may ſeem to them not only *unaccountable* but *inconſiſtent*.

When I firſt entered into Parliament, foreign Meaſures were ſometimes mentioned, but ſeldom debated. This was owing to the Power of the Miniſter, which I thought *alarming*, and therefore I liſted my ſelf into the Oppoſition to ALL his Meaſures. I ſay to ALL his Meaſures. For one of our firſt Principles was, to keep him from the Credit of doing even what was *Right*, as well as to load him with the Blame of whatever was *Wrong*. His indiſcriminate Purſuit of his own Syſtem was ſome Juſtification of this indiſcriminate Oppoſition; while the Pamphlets and Papers wrote by his Connivance, and diſperſed under his Influence, were rather Inſults upon *our* Underſtanding than Apologies for *his* Conduct.

I ſhall

I ſhall not enter into any Detail of the various Cauſes that concurred to remove him from his Power: but I muſt frankly own, that the Moment that Event took place, I thought the Object of Oppoſition chang'd. Some Incidents that happened in the Beginning of the late War, gave a plauſible Handle for a new Oppoſition, which, to all Appearance, was to Meaſures only; and I am free enough to own, that I entered into that Oppoſition likewiſe, though perhaps with Views very different from the Gentlemen, who conducted it. As it was entirely founded on Facts, and as Facts are, at leaſt, Indications of Principles, I took thoſe Facts for granted. But I found, though too late, that they had either been miſtaken, or miſrepreſented. The Progreſs of the War, encouraged Mediation rather than Oppoſition. Notwithſtanding the public Spirit of his Majeſty, the perſonal Valour of the Duke, and the unparallell'd Intrepidity of our Troops we beheld with Aſtoniſhment, the rapid Progreſs of the *French*, the Diſtreſs of one Ally, the Indolence of another, and the Weakneſs of both, co-operate to render the Treaſure we ſpent, and the Blood we ſpilt, fatal, only, to ourſelves. Our Troops, after performing Wonders, found themſelves on the

the Brink of being ſacrificed to the Sword, or to Captivity, by a Situation, in which, *Reſiſtance* became *Temerity*, and Valour muſt have been unavailing, and it was owing, equally, to the high Opinion, which the *French* had of the *Engliſh* Courage, as to the Succeſs of our Navies, great as it was, that a Seceſſion of Arms was obtained.

By the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, which followed ſoon after, I acknowledge, that the whole of my political Syſtem was new moulded. I had ſeen *France*, *quietly*, nay, *ſpontaneouſly* reſign thoſe Conqueſts, and abandon thoſe Purſuits, which, in my Youth, I had been taught to believe, were the ultimate View of her Ambition. I had ſeen the Governors of *Holland*, whom I had been taught to conſider as the true Patriots of public Liberty, and the ſhining Examples of public Spirit, without *Reſentment*, without *Jealouſy*, nay, without *Emotion* behold *France* ready to overpower them, without making one Effort for their *Freedom*, tho' upon their *Freedom* depended their *Property*. I had ſeen a Proteſtant Prince, in the Heart of *Europe*, co-operate with every Scheme of *French* Injuſtice, and his own Moderation, alone, giving him Law. Countries and Ter-

Territories, never heard of, pour'd forth the beſt Troops in *Europe*, for the Defence of public Liberty, and the Houſe of *Bourbon* was taught to tremble at the Power it had deſpis'd. I had ſeen that ſame Power check'd by a State, which a little before ſhe had thought too contemptible to be treated, even with common Civility, I mean that of *Genoa*, and *Oppreſſion* raiſe a Spirit, which *Power* could not ſubdue. Two great Empires, and one Kingdom, I mean, *Germany*, *Ruſſia*, and *Sweden*, were ſecured to Princes, whoſe greateſt Title to them was their Inſignificancy in *Europe*: And, to crown the Scene, the Troops of *Ruſſia* were call'd in to check the Ambition of *France*.

But what Conſequence are we to draw from thoſe, and a thouſand other political Events, that happened at that Time? Why, really, that the Syſtem of *Europe*, had undergone a total Renovation; that we had miſtaken the Object of the *French* Ambition, and that the Conqueſts of the *Low Countries* and *Holland*, was far from being of that Conſequence to them, which we had been taught to imagine. That the Balance of Power, which the grand Confederacy was form'd to maintain, now no longer exiſted,

exiſted, and, in ſhort, that it is, and ever will be, ruinous to *Great Britain*, if ſhe ſhall take too great a Concern, in the Affairs of the Continent, with her own Armies; or operate in any other Manner than *by* and *for* thoſe Advantages, which her own Situation, and the Induſtry of her Inhabitants have procured her.

This, Sir, is a fair Account of my polital Creed. And I cannot advance one Inch farther in the Doctrine of *Great Britain*'s Independency upon the Continent. *Commerce* has *given* them Connections, which *Nature* has *denied:* And *Accidents* have produced *Effects*, which *Policy* did not foreſee. The Intereſt as well as the Reputation, (and Reputation is Intereſt) of *Great Britain* calls upon her to protect, ſtrengthen and defend her Allies: And the ſingle Conſideration with me is, in what Manner that can be beſt effected.

There can be no Manner of Doubt, that *Great Britain* never maintained an Army, upon the Continent, but at three Times the Price, at which, ſhe might have hired an equal Body of auxilliary Troops. Therefore, I think it out of Queſtion, that if there be amongſt us, a Man, or, a Miniſter, who imagines

imagines that *Great Britain* ought to operate, upon the Continent, by her own Troops, at this Juncture, I ſcarcely know by what Name to call that Opinion.

If, on the other Hand, we have a Faction, which thinks that we can be ſafe, that we can be proſperous, that we can be victorious, though we abandon all our Allies, though we drop all Concern with the Continent, and though we ſacrifiſe every Conſideration of Liberty and Religon there; ſuch a Faction, muſt, either, have very wrong Heads, or very bad Hearts, or both. The firſt Maxim of the *Roman* Republic, was, to be faithful to its Allies, of every Denomination, however remote, however inſignificant, however ungrateful, and, even, burdenſome, they might be. But ſome Gentlemen may call this, with many other Examples, both antient and modern, I could produce, mere Declamation. Be it ſo. Then I will proceed to Argument.

Admitting our *Weſt Indian* and *American* Trade to be, as it certainly is, of the greateſt Importance to *England*, how does that Importance ariſe? Undoubtedly by *England*'s Connections with the Continent; and

with the very Powers, which the Ambition of *France* prompts her to deſtroy. For let us ſuppoſe, (I hope it never ſhall be more than a Suppoſition) that *France*, finding ſhe could do nothing by Sea againſt *Great Britain*, ſhould over-run her Allies, upon the Continent. Let us ſuppoſe farther (which the Gentlemen in the preſent Oppoſition, if they have any Meaning, muſt ſuppoſe) that *Great Britain* ſhuts herſelf up, within herſelf, makes Uſe of her naval Power, abandons all Concern with the Continent, and ſuffers Friends and Foes to fall indiſcriminately before the Power of *France*. I ſhall, even, ſuppoſe that *Great Britain*, all this while, enjoys her Triumphs on the Main, that her Fleet carries Terror, wherever it comes, and that ſhe reigns the undoubted and unrivall'd Miſtreſs of the Ocean.

But where is the Source that is to ſupply all this Flood of Glory, if ſhe ſtands unconnected with the Continent, by Intereſt as well as Nature? Her *American* Colonies muſt become a Burden upon her, if ſhe can no longer circulate their Commodities, or her own. Her Fleets can then no longer anſwer their Intention, which is to defend her Commerce, for ſhe would then have none to defend. They muſt

muſt become Objects of unneceſſary, but expenſive, Parade; and ſhe muſt be reduc'd at laſt, like an unſucceſsful Publican, to live upon her own Stores, and devour the Proviſions ſhe had prepar'd for others.

Will any Man ſay, that I overſtrain thoſe Suppoſitions? That I do not, will appear by a plain candid Review of what is ſaid on the other Side of the Queſtion, and which, had I not heard it urg'd in Speeches, and defended in Print, I would not have believed could have been advanced by Men of Senſe. You will think, perhaps, from this Introduction, that I intend to bring in a pompous Detail of Facts and Reaſonings; but, to your no ſmall Diſappointment, all that thoſe Gentlemen have advanced, and all that I have to combat, is, the ſingle Propoſition, That *Great Britain ought to take no Concern in the Affairs of the Continent.* What! none at all? *None.*——Not even ſuppoſing that *France* and *Pruſſia* are cloſely connected in Intereſt? That *Sweden* and *Denmark* over-aw'd, over-perſuaded, or over-paid, ſhall enter into their Schemes? That *Ruſſia*, tho' powerful within herſelf, has no Money to put her Armies into Motion? That the

Germanic Princes, who either fear, envy, or hate the King of *Great Britain*, ſhall get ſuch a Superiority in the Empire, as to ſet aſide the pragmatic Sanction, and ſacrifice to their Prejudices, or their Reſentments, or their immediate Safety, every ſalutary Maxim of public Liberty? That the natural Enemies of *Great Britain*, from theſe united Cauſes, ſhould obtain ſuch an Aſcendency in *Europe*, as to prohibit all *Commerce*, nay, *Correſpondence*, between her and the Continent, and that the Conſumption of all her Commodities is laid under a total Interdiction? Do not theſe, and a thouſand other Conſiderations, ſuggeſt themſelves to prove the Abſurdity of that general Propoſition, ſo ſtrenuouſly defended by ſome at this Time, *That Great Britain ought upon no* ACCOUNT *take any Concern in the Affairs of the Continent?*

In the Courſe of the Suppoſitions I have laid down, I have purpoſely omitted the Danger which the Proteſtant Succeſſion here might be expoſed to, if ſuch a Concurrence of Events ſhould ever take Place. My Reaſon is, becauſe I am willing to give the Gentlemen on the other Side of the Queſtion,

Queſtion, all the Advantages they can, and more than they ought to, require; by ſuppoſing *Great Britain* to be ſo much the abſolute Miſtreſs of the Ocean, and ſo well united at Home, as to defy all Attempts, either foreign or domeſtic, to overthrow her Conſtitution. But granting this, if cut off from all Commerce and Correſpondence with the Continent, over what ſolitary Realms muſt ſhe reign? From what Reſources muſt ſhe draw her Riches? and by what Means is ſhe to ſupport her Power?

I know it may be ſaid, that theſe are Suppoſitions not to be ſuppoſed. But Gentlemen can think ſo only, becauſe when they all come forward at one View, they affect them too ſtrongly; for if they are examined particularly and conſequentially, we ſhall find the Sum total of all the Articles to be the ſame. *Great Britain*, by her natural Situation, is the ſame now, as ſhe has been this three hundred Years; and whatever political Alterations ſhe has undergone, have only been in Proportion to thoſe of her neighbouring States, which ſeem rather to encourage, than to forbid, her Communications with the Continent.

At

At the ſame Time, I hope I ſhall be allowed to ſay, that within the Period I have mentioned, ſhe has had many great and wiſe Princes, many able and honeſt Stateſmen, many experienc'd and ſucceſsful Admirals, and many glorious and fortunate Generals. But I do not, in all her Hiſtory, remember, a ſingle Conjuncture thro' all the vaſt Variety that has happened within that Time, in which it was laid down as a Maxim of ſound Policy, *that Great Britain ought, upon no* ACCOUNT, *to take any Concern in the Affairs of the Continent.*

A Poſition, like this, is no better than a Libel upon the Memory of all ſuch as have ever bore the Name of *Britiſh* Patriots. For what Reaſon did Queen *Elizabeth*, with a Liberality ſomewhat foreign to her natural Temper, ſupport the Revolt of the *Dutch*, and the *Hugonots* of *France*, and take ſo deep a Concern in every Event that concerned the *Germanic* Body? Was it to eſtabliſh Rules of Faith, and Syſtems of Religion? Was it from a diſintereſted Concern for the Liberties of Mankind, that ſhe waſted the Blood and Treaſure of her Subjects? Theſe Motives were indeed conſequential

quential of the great Spirit, with which ſhe acted; but had they been her primary Impulſe, they had been romantic and chimerical, and beyond the natural Power of *Great Britain* to compaſs. But her Views were more rational; for tho' ſhe had repell'd the moſt powerful Invaſion ever attempted upon this Iſland; tho' after that, no Princeſs ever reign'd over a more dutiful, and a more united People, yet ſhe knew her Intereſt, as the Sovereign of a trading Nation, connected her with the Continent; and called upon her to aſſiſt herſelf, by protecting her Friends. This ſalutary Maxim was attended with every good Effect of public Spirit; for, in *political*, as well as *perſonal*, Caſes, it will always be ſeen, *that ſocial and Self-love are the ſame.*

If there is a Period in which the Government of *England* ſeem'd more inclin'd than at any other Time, to throw up all Concern with the Continent, it was during the Reign of *James* the Firſt, which has been univerſally ſtigmatiz'd on that very Account. Let us figure to ourſelves what really was the Caſe then, and is an indelible Brand upon the Annals of that Reign, a Prince

Prince and an Elector of the Empire, whom every Tie of Nature, Religion and Policy, had render'd dear to *Great Britain*, threaten'd to be ſtript of his Dominions by the Diſturbers of *Europe*'s Repoſe, for the generous Concern he had taken in the Cauſe of public Liberty, in which the Intereſts of *Great Britain* were included. Let us figure farther, that all required to ſupport that Prince's Territories, and to maintain what was then the natural Balance of Power in *Europe*, was a Sum of about 300,000 *l.* which is equal to upwards of 700,000 *l.* at this Time.——But what am I figuring? The Fact was ſo; and tho' every Man of Senſe and Virtue in *England* was for granting that Support, yet it was with-held by the Court, for the very ſame Reaſons, that I have heard lately advanced in a ſimilar Caſe. "*Great Britain* (ſaid the Court Ora-
" tors of that Time) is an Iſland, ſhe has
" nothing to fear from the Continent, ſhe
" ought not to engage in the Quarrels
" of other Princes, whatever their Con-
" nexions with her may be; let her extend
" and protect her Commerce, let them fight
" out and defend their own Cauſe; and if
" *Great Britain* is to be engaged in the
" Defence

" Defence of Territories, poſſeſſed by the " Princes related to her Throne, ſuch Re- " lation will prove rather a Misfortune than " a Happineſs to her."

Such was the Language of Court Sycophants in that Reign; and ſhall it be adopted by *Britiſh* Patriots in this? What was then the Conſequence? No Conſideration could, for a long Time, prevail with that degenerate Court, to operate in the Affairs of the Continent, any other ways than by thouſands of Ambaſſadors, and Millions of Negotiations. The dreaded Event took Place; the Proteſtant Intereſt in the Empire was reduced to the laſt Gaſp. The Allies of *England* were over-run, or over-aw'd, and the Oppreſſors of *Europe* muſt ſoon have reduc'd the Naval Power of *Great Britain* to a State of Inſignificancy, as ſhe could not have had a Port in *Europe*, to which ſhe could trade, or an Ally to whom ſhe could have Recourſe.

The Spirit of the Nation, and a Courſe of Accidents unparallelled and unexpected, alone prevented her being in ſo diſagreeable a Situation. The Court was terrify'd by

the wiſe and honeſt Part of the People, out of their detach'd Schemes; and the amazing Succeſs of the *Swedes* in *Germany*, (an Event never again to be looked for) aided by Troops and Money from *Great Britain*, procur'd ſome Reſpite to the Liberties of *Europe*, after being brought to the Verge of Deſtruction, by that pernicious Maxim, *That Great Britain ought, upon no* Account, *to take any Concern in the Affairs of the Continent.*

I could bring many Inſtances ſince that Time, equally ſtrong to prove, that our ſeaſonable Connexions with the Continent have brought *England* to that Pitch of Power and Riches ſhe now poſſeſſes, and an Adherence to this Doctrine was the Teſt of Wiſdom and Patriotiſm in every Miniſtry, to the Acceſſion of *George* the Firſt. The Tories, during the Reign of Queen *Anne*, (till the Deſign of bringing in the Pretender was in a Manner avow'd,) if not quite ſo forward as the Whigs to ſupport the War on the Continent, never were abſurd enough to oppoſe any one of the general Meaſures, that had been judged proper by King *William*, and they ſeemed to be as much

much attached, as the Whigs themſelves were, to the Principles of the grand Alliance.

But the Moment the Reſolution of ſetting the Pretender on the Throne of *Britain* was adopted, the Doctrine of our Intereſt detached from the Continent, was adopted likewiſe. The Language at Court was, "That *Great Britain* had taken too "great a Concern with the Affairs of *Eu-* "*rope*, that it was Time to recover from the "Dream of Glory, which had led her into "ſuch a Profuſion of Blood and Treaſure, "for Conſiderations foreign to her true In- "tereſts. That ſhe had nothing to do, "but recall her Armies, truſt to her Fleet, "extend her Commerce, and Huſband her "Money." In Conſequence of this Scheme, the Peace of *Utrecht* was concluded, which, in Fact, was a Prelude to detach us not only from our Intereſts upon the Continent, but from our Liberties within the Kingdom; and *Britain* was once more ſaved by the critical Acceſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* to her Throne.

Having ſaid thus much by way of Reflection, I am far from thinking or ſaying that

that we have not, upon certain Occaſions, even within the Time I have mentioned, misjudged the Part which we ought to have taken in foreign Affairs. I think the War under the Duke of *Marlborough* might have been carried on with greater Effect, and leſs Expence to this Nation, and that, conſidering the Turn the Affairs of *Europe* took, it was impoſſible for us to have made ſo good a Peace with *France*, as we might have had at *Gertruydenberg*. But admitting this, it makes nothing againſt the general Principle, which is now ſo much the Object of public Attention; That at preſent we are called upon by Intereſt, as well as Gratitude, to take a proper Concern in the Safety of our Allies upon the Continent. We are not called upon to enter into Engagements that may be dangerous, or Alliances that are expenſive, but to accommodate ourſelves to that Syſtem, which a Concurrence of Accidents, Intereſts, or Events, have introduc'd into *Europe*. It is not expected we ſhould attempt to retrieve that Balance of Power, which was the Object of the grand Alliance; but that we ought to do our Endeavour to prevent that which is moſt our Intereſt to prevail, from being overſet.

One

One of the firſt and moſt neceſſary Maxims in true Policy is; That Dominion (by which is meant every Kind of Acquiſition) is to be maintained upon the ſame Principles and Means through which it was gained. Let us look into the Hiſtory of *England*, let us conſider the Principles on which ſhe acted, and the Means by which ſhe ſucceeded in gaining this Sovereignty of the Seas, and in becoming the Emporium of Commerce. Was not her Conduct wiſe, becauſe founded on national Intereſt? Was it not generous, becauſe national Intereſt led her to conſider, that the Balance of Power muſt be preſerved, and that it could not be preſerved, without giving Protection, Life, Liberty, and Independency to Thouſands. Under Queen *Elizabeth*, the Balance of Power was to be maintained againſt *Spain*, ſince that Time it has been maintained againſt *France*; and it was equally wiſe to ſupport it againſt either, when the Circumſtances of *Europe* required it. I ſhall not, at Preſent, enter upon the Diſpute, where the Balance of Power now lies, or by what Means it is to be guarded: It is ſufficient for my Purpoſe if it is admitted, that it ſtill exiſts, that it ought to be maintained, and that it may be overſet; and I have not yet found

found a Man yet abſurd enough to advance a contrary Opinion.

No Man in *England* is more ſenſible than I am of the vaſt Importance of our Fleets for that Purpoſe; but I will venture to ſay they are not *all-ſufficient*. The Liberties of *Europe* may be ruined, though thoſe of *England* never can be, without employing a ſingle Ship of War. *France*, in the Year 1672, had a great Fleet, and ſo had *Holland*, but the one proved as ineffectual for the Attack, as the other for the Defence, of that Country; and it is well known, that though the *Dutch* were then, perhaps, the greateſt naval Power upon the Continent, the Liberties of *Europe* in three Days time muſt have been ſacrificed had not the Pride and Vanity of the *French* King proved a happy Counterbalance to his Injuſtice and Ambition. From whence did this proceed, but from the pernicious Indifference with which the Court, in Oppoſition to the Parliament of *England*, looked upon all foreign Affairs?

After theſe general Reflections, which I hope are built upon uncontrovertable Facts, there cannot be the leaſt Doubt, that the Criterion of true Patriotiſm in *England* has ever

ever been, her taking a juſt Concern in the Affairs of the Continent, and that when this Criterion was abandoned, it always was with Views, and for Reaſons, which were as pernicious to the Liberties of *England*, as of *Europe*.

I am not here to diſſemble, that when the Crown of *England* was ſettled upon her preſent illuſtrious royal Family, many very worthy Patriots, Whigs as well as Tories (for ſome Patriot Tories there have been) were extremely anxious to ſecure this Nation from embarking in Quarrels upon the Continent, in Conſequence of any Differences or Engagements which the King of *England* as Elector of *Hanover*, might have with any of the Powers there. Were I to ſpeak my own Sentiments candidly, I ſhould ſay, that the Proviſions for that Purpoſe made in the Act of Settlement were carried farther than even the Nature of a limited Monarchy can admit of, and put the King of *England* under more diſagreeable Reſtrictions than even a private Gentleman could brook. Nay, I am ſingular enough to think, that had ſeveral of thoſe Reſtrictions been omitted, the Nation would not have been a Bit leſs ſecure in her Intereſts and Liberties.

The

The Jealouſy of the Public would have been a better Barrier to both, than any written Proviſions could deviſe: And I could name even recent Inſtances to prove, that it is poſſible a Time may come when a Miniſtry of *England* ſhall be ſo tender of violating the Proviſions of the Act of Settlement, and a Faction know their own Strength ſo well, by adopting that popular Topic, that Opportunities for ſerving the domeſtic as well as foreign Intereſts of this Kingdom may be loſt, and in vain ſought to be retrieved at an immenſe Expence, in which all Parties would concur without repining.

In ſome Part of what I have now advanced, I am countenanced by the Wiſdom of Parliament itſelf, which, long before it had any Experience of his Majeſty's Virtues as a King, and of his Paſſion for the Honour, Happineſs and Liberties of *England*, repealed ſeveral reſtrictive Clauſes in the Act of Settlement, and I think for very juſt and very wiſe Conſiderations, which I ſhall not enter upon at preſent. His Majeſty has no Subject more convinced than I am of the Importance of preſerving the Spirit of that Act: But I am not for having it rendered more dangerous to be a Counſellor to our King,

King, than it is to be a Vizier to a Sultan; neither do I wiſh that, even as it now ſtands, it ſhould, by a ſcrupulous Adherence to Words, defeat its Intention, which moſt certainly was to ſecure the Liberties of *England*, by concurring to ſupport thoſe of *Europe*.

But it may be ſaid, " No Party is againſt " our taking a juſt Concern in Affairs of the " Continent. The Oppoſition that has been " made is only to our embarking in them too " deeply." This I ſay, may be ſaid, but I have not yet heard it ſaid; for if I underſtand any thing of common Senſe, the Arguments of the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition to the preſent Meaſures, tend to diſſolve all Kind of Connections between us and other Powers. I ſhall, however, for once free them from the Imputation of that Abſurdity, by ſuppoſing that they are willing to agree to our acting ſuch a Part upon the Continent as may be proper for this Kingdom, as a trading Nation, to enter into. Let us therefore examine the Nature of this Propriety, and ſee if any Juncture ever exiſted to which it was more applicable than it is at preſent.

The Propriety of a Meaſure conſiſts in its being well timed, well intended, practicable, juſt, and frugal; and if a Meaſure anſwers all theſe Characters, I think there can be no Queſtion that it ought to be purſued.

With regard to the Time or Juncture; We have lately got rid of an expenſive, and not over ſucceſsful, War, and the Event, as I have already hinted, has taught us, that *France* has ſtruck into a new Scheme of Politics: That her Government is now convinced, that *Glory* may be attended with *Ruin*, and *Succeſs* with *Beggary*. Experience ſhewed them that unprotected Commerce is no other than an eaſy Prey to the firſt Aſſailant; and that the *Palms* and *Laurels* which their Arms had tranſplanted *from Abroad* produced only *Briars* and *Thorns at Home*. They ſaw *Splendor* at *Court*, and *Deſolation* in their *Provinces*; their Crown *poor* though *powerful*; their Armies *ſtarving*, though *victorious*; and their Ships, though *numerous*, *uſeleſs*. They beheld great Efforts made, but they proceeded rather from *Agony* than *Strength*, and indicated, not *Health*, but *Diſeaſe*. Every Trader in their Kingdom felt the pernicious Influence of *Fleury*'s long

long pacific Adminiſtration; their Parliaments ſought to break thoſe Chains the Clergy had impoſed, and their Miniſters to remedy the Evils their Injuſtice had occaſioned. They made War *to no Purpoſe*, and Peace *with no Profit*; and the Expence of their Armies threatned to finiſh the Ruin which their Conqueſts had begun. It was in vain their Court endeavoured to conceal the Nakedneſs of their Country, and the Miſeries of the People call'd ſo loud that they at laſt reach'd the Throne.

England, all this Time, by protecting her Commerce, ſaw it not only extended but eſtabliſhed. By *War*, ſhe had acquired *Strength*, and by *Peace*, *Riches*. The Pangs of inteſtine Commotion have left no Impreſſion upon her Conſtitution, and the Expence of foreign War had made no Abatement of her Credit. The high ſounding Bugbear of Eighty Millions of Debt, when ſtripp'd of the Rags, with which Diſaffection and Diſcontent had cloathed it, appeared leſs formidable, than a Debt of Fifty Millions was formerly; and that it was eaſier to pay the one at 3 *per Cent*, than the other at 5. In ſhort, public Credit flouriſh'd, public Spirit reviv'd, and the Nation entered upon ſuch a

Purſuits of her true Intereſts as alarmed *France*.

It was eaſy for *France* to ſee the Springs of the different Circumſtances of the two Kingdoms, and that it was owing to our Merchants and Miniſters going Hand in Hand. The *French* Miniſtry copied the Moderation of the *Engliſh*; they encouraged Schemes, Propoſitions, and Addreſſes upon the Subject of naval Affairs; they turn'd their Thoughts from Conqueſts to Commerce, and they gave their Monarch a Reliſh for the Happineſs, as well as the Greatneſs, of his People. The Reſult of the whole was, that a regular Scheme was form'd to augment their Sea, by reducing their Land, Force, to open a perpetual and improving Source of Commerce in *America*; to apply a certain annual Sum for encreaſing both the Number and the Strength of their Ships; for erecting Foundaries, and importing Materials for recaſting their Cannons; for forming a Nurſery of Seamen; for amaſſing incredible Quantities of naval Stores, and, in ſhort, for having before the Year 1760 a Fleet, at Sea, of 150 Ships of the Line, ſuperior in every Reſpect to thoſe of *England*.

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Had the Conduct of this Scheme been as *prudent*, as its Execution was *practicable*, no one can take upon him to ſay, what the Conſequence might have been, even, long before the Period allotted for its Maturity. But happily for *Great Britain*, the *French Vifneſs* got the better of their *Policy*. They provoked us before they were able to ſupport their Quarrel, they were deceived in their Intelligence, about the *Tameneſs*, as well as the *Diviſions*, of the *Engliſh*, and they were miſtaken in imagining that they ſhould be able to influence *Spain* to join them. The *Engliſh*, all this while, exerted themſelves with a Spirit that gave Credit to the Miniſtry; and an Effect that does honour to the Nation. Their *Meaſures* were *ſober*, and therefore *ſucceſsful*; their Vigour was tempered by Caution, and their Reſentment warranted by Juſtice. Our Government did not look upon the Quarrel as a territorial Diſpute, to be confined to the Place where it happen'd. They conſidered their Poſſeſſions in *America* to be as much Part of national Property as any County in *England*; and without minding finical, miſtaken, Diſtinctions, they reflected that the Honour of the Crown, and the Faith of the Parliament, ſtood engaged for the Property and Preſervation

vation of their meaneſt *Engliſhman* in *America.*

The Conduct of *France* upon this Occaſion, is without Parallel, and beyond Belief. Too *weak* to ſhow *Reſentment*, too *proud* to make *Reparation*; ſhe has diſcovered, at once, *Impotence* and *Injuſtice*, tho' ſhe endeavours to cloke both under the ſpecious Pretexts of *public Tranquility* and *royal Moderation.* Thus her Behaviour has given the Lye to all thoſe high Ideas of her Power and Policy, which ſhe and her Friends were ſo induſtrious in propagating. One ſingle Month has convinced us of a whole Century's Miſtake, and one critical Conjuncture has prov'd *France* both feeble and fallible.

Here I ſee you ſtand amaz'd; for if *France* is ſo deſpicable an Enemy, why are foreign Princes to be ſubſidiz'd, and foreign Troops hired to oppoſe her!—But, I miſtake; you cannot ſurely imagine, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, that I think *France* is a deſpicable Enemy to *Great Britain?* No, I think her the moſt formidable, as well as moſt ancient, in the World: And I think her Deſigns, in the Light I ſee them, are incompatible with the Intereſts of every wiſe Man, and the Principles

Principles of every honeſt Man, in *Great Britain*; nay, I believe that ſhe has both Power and Influence enough both to conſume and corrupt the Kernel, tho' ſhe has not Strength to break the Shell. Our Iſland may bid Defiance to her Attacks, but ſhe may prove fatal to its Intereſts; ſhe may, if not prevented, deſtroy the Sources, from which we derive our Subſtance; and tho' ſhe muſt leave us the Appearances of Freedom and Independency, yet ſhe may render them both far leſs deſirable, than they are at preſent. She has, it is true, inteſtine Diviſions; but the Experience of all Hiſtory tells us, that theſe ſoon ſubſide, when her Ambition and Glory comes in Queſtion.

Having ſaid thus much, I am almoſt aſham'd to encounter the trite Objection, why are we to enter into expenſive Engagements, on Account of his Majeſty's *Electoral Dominions?* For I think that the Engagements we have now enter'd into, would have been wiſe and neceſſary, tho' his Majeſty had not poſſeſſed one Foot of Territory upon the Continent. If any one ſhall be abſurd enough to ſay that *Great Britain* can be without Allies, that ſhe can ſubſiſt, tho' every Port in *Europe* was ſhut to her Commerce,

Commerce, and every Power oppos'd to her Intereſts, I ſhall not be abſurd enough to combat ſuch a Paradox.

I ſhall, therefore, fairly take it for granted, from the Facts and Principles I have already eſtabliſhed, that *Great Britain* has an Intereſt in preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, even tho' his Majeſty's *Germanic* Dominions were quite out of the Queſtion. If ſo, I ſhould be glad to know, what Purpoſe all the Clamour rais'd about *Hanover*, can ſerve, but that of Diſcontent and Diſaffection? Have the Gentlemen, who ſeem'd to favour, if not to adopt, this Clamour, pretended to ſay, that *France* is ſo devoid of Reſentment, as well as Ambition, as to neglect the Means which her Power and Connexions have put into her Hands, of indemnifying herſelf for her Diſappointments and Loſſes. No reaſonable Man, I think, can ſay ſo. In what Manner, then, can ſhe operate? Not by Sea; for there, compar'd to *Britain*, ſhe is impotent. It muſt therefore be by Land. Will Gentlemen ſay, that *Ruſſia* has ſo natural a Connexion with the reſt of *Europe*, as to be compell'd by Intereſt to interpoſe in the Quarrel? No, her Situation by Land is almoſt as impregnable

as

as ours is by Sea. Can it be pretended, that the *Germanic* Body is, at this Time, ſo well united within itſelf, as to be able to make Head againſt *France* and her Allies? If he caſts his Eye upon a common Gazette, or Map, he may ſee, that it is not. But ſuppoſing it were; nay, ſuppoſing the Queen of *Hungary* had Power enough within herſelf to ſtipulate that Aſſiſtance, which we are to have from others, would it be generous in us to require it? Or, would it be prudent in her to grant it? She has Connexions to obſerve, ſhe has even Family Intereſts to conſult; and tho' ſhe had neither, her Situation does not admit of her making ſuch a Bargain, or at leaſt on ſo cheap Terms, as we have it from her Siſter Empreſs. Can it be pretended, that without *Great Britain*, the preſent Syſtem of Power in *Europe*, can long ſubſiſt? No, I don't know a Man in *England* hardy enough to deny, that the Pragmatic Sanction was retrieved by *England*, and that were we now to withdraw all Concern for, and Connexions with, the Continent, the Liberties of *Europe* muſt be more endangered than they were fifteen or ſixteen Years ago. What Barrier then can they have, but from the Interpoſition of *Great Britain?* Or, how can *Great Britain* interpoſe ſo effectually as

by Means of thoſe Powers, who have nothing either to fear, or to hope from *France?*

Such are the Conſiderations which prove the Wiſdom of *Great Britain*'s Interpoſition at this Time in the Affairs of the Continent: And the ſame Reaſons that ſhew it to be well timed, prove it likewiſe to be well intended.

As to the Practicability of this Meaſure, it is, I think, out of Diſpute that the Powers with whom we have contracted are heartily in the Intereſts of *Great Britain*, and very able to perform their Engagements. The Empreſs of *Ruſſia*'s Intereſt is ſo cloſely connected with that of *England*, and her Miniſtry is ſo ſenſible of it, that ſhe has ſhewed a wonderful Firmneſs upon all Occaſions againſt every Attempt to detatch her from our Alliance. But, indeed, her Imperial Majeſty's own Inclination, as well as Intereſt, ſtrengthens this Connexion, ſo that it would be in vain to ſay any more upon that Head. I ſhall only beg leave to remind you of the wonderful Punctuality with which ſhe performed her laſt Engagements. So far from being ſcanty as to the Number of Troops ſhe had ſtipulated, ſhe threw ſome Thouſands

ſands into the Bargain, ſo that making the largeſt Allowances for Mortaliry and other Accidents upon their March, the full Quota muſt have arrived at the Place appointed; and on our Miniſters and Agents had the picking of them out of near 400,000 diſciplined Men. Theſe are Facts which I think proper to touch upon, becauſe I know there is but too great Ground of Objection to Meaſures of this kind, on Account of the vaſt Deficiencies of the ſtipulated Numbers when the come to the Place of Action. As to the Landgrave of *Heſſe Caſtle*, the other Power, with whom his Majeſty has entered into Engagements, his long Perſeverance in the Intereſt of *England*, and his near Connections with the preſent Royal Family, are more than ſufficient to convince us that he will cheerfully and punctually fulfil all his Engagements.

But, it may be ſaid, and I know it has been ſaid, *Franee* may over-run the Territories thoſe Troops are hired to defend, before they can come to their Aſſiſtance. In anſwer to this it is ſufficient to obſerve, that they whoſe Concern it is to entertain the greateſt Apprehenſions on that Score, ſeem to have none. The Seaſon of the Year, at preſent, is too far advanced for

the *French* to make a Campaign of that kind with any Number of Troops that can alarm the Powers they mean to attack, and his Majeſty's Prudence and Vigilance is too well known for us to be under any Manner of Uneaſineſs on that Account. A Winter Expedition of that Sort, on the Part of *France*, is what the beſt Friends of *Great Britain* have Reaſon to wiſh for; and before Spring or Summer, Diſpoſitions may be made to give them a proper Reception.

Suppoſing, however, any particular Territory out of the Queſtion, I ſhould be glad to know from the Gentlemen, who ſeem to oppoſe this Meaſure, whether, conſidering the Nature of the preſent Diſpute between *Great Britain* and *France*, and the Diſpoſitions of certain *German* Powers, it would not be extreamly prudent in us to guard againſt all Attempts to give *France* ſuch a Footing in the Empire as may enable her and her Allies to give Law to our Friends there? If the ſmalleſt Prince in the Empire, in Friendſhip with *Great Britain*, were to be over-run; if his being over-run were to be as deciſive of the Proteſtant, as the *Engliſh*, Intereſt, there; if it might, even do

no

no more than open the Way to farther Acquiſitions that are inconſiſtent with that Syſtem of Power that has been always our Care to preſerve in *Germany*, I ſay, even in that Caſe, it would be Madneſs in us not to enable that Power, however weak in itſelf, to make Head againſt all ſuch Attempts.

A happy Circumſtance for *Great Britain* is, that (independent of the Conſideration of any Connections with her) ſhe has an Ally in *Germany* ſo able as his Majeſty is to maintain that Balance which it is always her Intereſt ſhould prevail there; for upon the Preſervation of that in *Germany* depends, I will venture to ſay, the Preſervation of the Trade of *Great Britain* over all *Europe*. For Trade has many ſecret Operations and Springs, which, however diſtant they may ſeem, have, all of them, a Relation to each other, and every Turn which Commerce might take to our Diſadvantage in the North, would ſoon operate to our Prejudice in the South, and, by Conſequence, in *America* itſelf.

With regard to the Frugality of the Meaſure, it is perhaps ſuch, as no Juncture can parallel

parallel; and I will venture to ſay, that all the Troops, both *Ruſſians* and *Heſſians*, for which his Majeſty contracted during his laſt Abſence from *Great Britain*, will coſt us leſs than the cheapeſt Operation either by Sea or Land, that has been pretended to be pointed out, by the Gentlemen who oppoſe the Meaſure. Will theſe Gentlemen ſay, that our Fleets can guard our inland Trade? Will they pretend that *Great Britain* can have any Benefit from Commerce, but by preſerving the Balance on the Continent? Or. will they ſhew that it can be preſerved at ſo cheap a Rate, as by the Meaſures entered into by his Majeſty?

The Members which compoſe the two Houſes of Parliament, by which the Act of Succeſſion was ſettled, were, to ſay the leaſt of them, at leaſt as good Patriots as any modern ones; They underſtood the Conſtitution, and loved the Liberty, of their Country; they foreſaw every Difficulty which has ſince happened as far as human Foreſight could reach, and their Jealouſy of our Connections with the Continent was carried perhaps too far. But they could not foreſee that a Time would come when a Proteſtant Power

Power ſhould ſtart up in the Midſt of *Germany*, and draw the Sword for *France*. They could not foreſee, that that Power would become too ſtrong to be controll'd, and too obſtinate to be perſuaded. They could not imagine that a Deſcendent from that Duke of *Brandenburg*, whom King *William* called his Father, and conſidered as a main Beam of the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, ſhould eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, againſt that of *Auſtria*, and act counter to every Principle upon which the grand Alliance was formed. They could not foreſee that Religion would turn out a mere State Juggle with many of the *German* Princes; and that Popery and Proteſtantiſm would become with them, two mere Sounds, without any other Ideas annexed to them, than Power and Intereſt. Had they foreſeen this, with many other Revolutions that have ſince happen'd in the Syſtem of the *Germanic* Body, can we imagine that the Act of Settlement would have been conceiv'd in the Terms it originally bore. Were they now to ſee their Succeſſors divided about a Meaſure, that for the Expence, at which they maintained a few Regiments on the Continent, was to remedy the

the dreadful Evils they could not prevent, and fix the Balance of Power in *Europe*, what Indignation muſt they feel!

I am well aware what vaſt Advantage the Antiſubſidizers have in Sounds. *Hanover, Hanoverian Intereſts, the Naval Power of Great Britain, her Situation as an Iſland, her Commerce, and her Detachment from the Continent*, are popular, plauſible, and, when not carry'd into Extravagance, proper, Topics of Argument. But they ought to have their Bounds. When our Crown was ſettled on the preſent Royal Family, the Nation well knew the Connexion between it and *Hanover*; and ſo far as I can recollect, it never yet has been pretended in the hotteſt Times of Oppoſition, that the Act of Settlement, as it now ſtands, has ſuffered the ſmalleſt Violation. At the Time it paſs'd, common Senſe could not but dictate, (and in the Nature of Things, it is impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe) that his Majeſty's *Germanic* Dominions would be conſider'd as a Pledge for his Conduct as King of *Great Britain*, towards thoſe Powers, who ſhould give Law upon the Continent. This, I ſay, is dictated by common Senſe: But will common

common Honeſty allow his Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, to ſuffer for that Spirit which he exerts as King of *England?*

Having mentioned common Honeſty, let me put the following Caſe, which tho' improbable, is not impoſſible. Suppoſing ſome Part of his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Dominions to be attack'd on Account of *Hanover*, and that it is in the Power of the States of that Electorate, for a mere Trifle of Expence, to ſave us from an Invaſion that may prove fatal to our Liberties, and Commerce. Let an *Engliſhman*, I ſay, lay his Hand upon his Heart in ſuch a Situation of Affairs, and aſk himſelf in what Light he would conſider the People of *Hanover*, were they to refuſe to ſave, nay, to ſerve, the People of *England* with ſo much Eaſe, and at ſo ſmall an Expence? I will not ſay that this Caſe may not happen; I will not ſay that it has not partly happen'd already, and that there was not a Time, when *Great Britain* was alarmed by the Threats of a moſt formidable Invaſion, merely for the wiſe Concern, which her King, as Elector of *Hanover*, took in the Affairs of the North.

Can we, with any Colour of Probability, imagine, that the Framers of the Act of Settlement were ignorant, that ſuch Inconveniencies would happen after the Houſe of *Hanover* had ſucceeded to the Throne of *England?* Might not every Child foreſee that many Incidents muſt happen, in which the Elector of *Hanover* ſhall be obliged, as ſuch, to take a Part extreamly diſagreeable to the other Powers, who will not fail, if an Opportunity ſhould preſent, to reſent his Conduct, be it ever ſo juſt and wiſe, upon the King of *England?* What was the magical Charm that forced thoſe Oppoſites in Nature, *Charles* of *Sweden* and the Czar of *Muſcovy*, into one another's Arms, and to threaten *Great Britain* with a reſiſtleſs Invaſion? Nothing but the wiſe and generous Concern, which his late Majeſty took, as Elector of *Hanover*, in preſerving the Peace of *Germany*, and the Balance of Power in the North. But no Patriot of thoſe Days was hardy enough to charge the then Miniſtry with involving *Great Britain* in Affairs that were foreign to her Intereſts. The Part ſhe acted, was dictated by the Nature of Things. Her Enemies took Advantage of thoſe Circumſtances that preſent themſelves

ſelves at the very firſt View, by ſeeking to force the King of *Great Britain* into Meaſures detrimental to the Elector of *Hanover*.

The popular Outcry, therefore, againſt our Connexions with *Hanover*, neither has, nor can have, any Foundation, but in the Act of Settlement itſelf; for while that Act ſubſiſts, thoſe Connexions muſt ſubſiſt likewiſe; nay, they partly muſt ſubſiſt, were it repeal'd. And, in Fact, they did ſubſiſt before it took Place; becauſe it always has been, and always will be, the Intereſt of *Great Britain* to ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Germany*, which ſhe cannot do, without ſupporting thoſe Princes, which are at its Head. Whoever is converſant in the Hiſtory of that Act, and the Principles upon which it paſs'd, muſt be extreamly ſenſible that the Whigs of thoſe Days, and all the well meaning Tories likewiſe, thought it a happy Circumſtance for *England* to be ruled by a Prince, who had a great Intereſt in *Germany*; and it was with that View that *England* exerted herſelf ſo much in every Thing that con-

cerned the Honour or Intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*, even before its Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great Britain*.

Nothing is more eaſy than florid Declamation ; and an Orator of very moderate Parts, by dipping into Magazines and political Pamphlets, may make a very good Figure, by furniſhing himſelf with general Invectives againſt the Blood and Treaſure of *England*, being employed in Quarrels that are foreign to her Intereſts. He may likewiſe expatiate with great Eloquence upon the natural Defence of *England*, which is her Navy, and her Militia; and he may ſhew, with invincible Force of Reaſoning, how eaſy it is to form a Militia, ſo as to bid Defiance to all Invaſions. Who doubts all this, or diſputes any of thoſe general Principles ? But I have heard that even Gold may be purchaſed too dear ; and great Chemiſts have been known to maintain, that the Tranſmutation of Metals is not impracticable, but that the Profit never could defray the Expence of the Proceſs.

But

But why are Things to be taken for granted without Proof, and againſt Probability? Who doubts that it is deſtructive to *Britain* to enter into a Land War, upon the Continent, uninjured, unprovoked, and unintereſted? But is that the Caſe at preſent? Have we received no Provocations, from *France*, that call for Reſentment on our Part? Undoubtedly we have. And I have not yet met with a Man, in *England*, unreaſonable enough to ſay, we have not. In what Manner were we to expreſs our Reſentment? By Sea undoubtedly; as being the moſt natural, the moſt frugal, and the moſt effectual Manner. I ſhall not diſſemble, for my own Part, that the Circumſtances of the Juncture, when this Reſentment became neceſſary, were ſuch, that I did not conceive we ſhould have acted with the Spirit we have ſhewn. His Majeſty abroad, *France* and her Allies prepared, alarm'd and elated, by the Defeat of General *Braddock*; and the naval Power of our Enemy far from being contemptible. The *Dutch* weak, or divided, beyond Expreſſion. The Queen of *Hungary* in no Condition to provoke *France* and *Pruſſia*, and not a Power upon the Continent that had ſo much as a Pretext for acting with

us,

us, in conſequence of our *American* Diſputes. Notwithſtanding this, all Conſiderations of perſonal and territorial Safety were generouſly ſet aſide on the Continent; the Honour, and Intereſt of *Great Britain*, took Place of all Arguments; and his Majeſty generouſly paſſed the *Rubicon*, with the happy Omen of being ſeconded by the good Wiſhes and Approbation of every honeſt *Engliſhman*; and all this to the Amazement of *Europe*, and the Diſappointment of *France*, who relied upon the Situation of Matters upon the Continent to protect her againſt the Reſentment of *England*.

A ſmall Degree of Reflection, upon the Occurrences of a few Months ago, will juſtify all I have advanced; on this Head. Was this a Conduct, that had the Appearance of making the Intereſts of *Great Britain*, only a ſecondary Conſideration? Is it poſſible to conceive a Conduct that can do his Majeſty more Honour, as a King of *England?* Common Prudence, indeed, led him to enter into two freſh Engagements either to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*, or the Balance of Power in *Germany*. But had he not been our King, had he, as Elector

lector of *Hanover*, been no more than the determined Friend of *England* in *Germany*; had he been threatned on that Account by Powers, which the Strength of his electoral Dominions could not withſtand, and if the Loſs of *Hanover* muſt have been attended with the Loſs of all our Intereſt not only in *Germany*, but in the North, I ſay, ſuppoſing all this had been the Caſe, muſt not the People of *England* have been as void of Wiſdom and Policy, as of Juſtice and Gratitude, had they abandoned ſuch an Ally to Deſtruction, or even to Danger?

Does then his Majeſty being connected with us, by Ties more cloſe and ſacred than thoſe of a common Ally, alter the Nature of our Duty, our Intereſts and Engagements? What Prince who had no more Concern with us, than as a mere Ally, would have acted in like Manner, under like Circumſtances? Let me aſk farther, whether it is poſſible for his Majeſty to have conſulted the Intereſt of *Britain* in a more frugal, effectual, and, even, decent, Manner, than he has done? Could he have anſwered the great Truſt repoſed in him by Parliament, without providing for the Peace and Safety of *Europe*?

Europe? Or was there any other Courſe to be followed, for that Purpoſe, but that which he has purſued? Had he not purſued it, there had indeed been Field enough for Outcry and Declamation, " To neglect " the Liberties of *Europe*, the Proteſtant " Intereſt, the Safety of our Allies, and " the Honour of *Great Baitain* for the " Conſideration of a paltry Sum, that ſcarce " is to be mentioned, in Oppoſition to thoſe " mighty Conſiderations, and to expoſe us " to an immenſe Expence to retrieve that " Balance of Power, which a Trifle of " Money might have preſerved. Add to " this, it is certain to a Demonſtration, that " the Money we give to *Ruſſia* is all laid " out upon our own Manufactures; and that " even the Subſidies we lay out in *Germany*, " are more than compenſated by the Ad- " vantages they bring us in Point of Com- " merce. Was this the Manner, in which " the glorious Queen *Elizabeth* acted, when " ſhe expoſed both her Life and her Crown " to ſupport the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Europe?* " Was this the Spirit which *Cromwell* ſhew'd, " when he obliged the *French* Court, to " drop the Perſecution of the Proteſtants, " though they were her own Subjects? " Did King *William* proceed upon ſuch

" narrow

" narrow pitiful Maxims, when he form'd " the great Alliance, or the Whig Mi- " niſtry, when they ſupported it?"

I may venture to refer it to any Man of common Senſe, whether, if an Oppoſition had a Mind to diſtreſs a Government, it could be done, in a more effectual Manner, than by adopting the Topics, I have juſt now laid down? If the Gentlemen, in ſuch an Oppoſition, had a Mind to be as ſpiteful, as thoſe in ſome Oppoſitions we have heard of, they might add, with great Archneſs, " That ſuch a Saving was far from proceed- " ing from any Principles of national Fru- " gality; that it was only in order to " have the more to ſquander at home, " upon wicked Purpoſes; that we are playing " the ſame Game, with the Jacobite Mi- " niſtry, who at the End of Queen *Ann*'s " Reign, abandoned the poor *Catalans*, " and what Prince or People, be they ever " ſo deſpicable, will hereafter either truſt or " fear *Great Britain*."

I do not pretend to ſay that the whole of this Invective would be well founded, but, I affirm, that it is a thouſand Times more rational, as well as ſpecious, than,

all the Declamation that has been brought againſt his Majeſty's Engagements upon the Continent.

Will Gentlemen, upon the whole ſay, that no Juncture can exiſt, in which *Great Britain* ought to take any Concern, in Affairs, on the Continent? Will they ſay that any Juncture ever did, or can exiſt more preſſing than the preſent, to induce her to take ſuch Concern? Will they pretend, that if ſhe is to take it, ſhe can do it in any leſs Degree, than by the Meaſures which his Majeſty has purſued, and by fulfilling the Engagements he has form'd? Can they alledge, that theſe Engagements are expenſive, conſidering the great Purpoſes they a to ſerve, or can they conceive it poſſible to have ſo powerful and effectual an Aſſiſtance upon more frugal and more reaſonable Terms? If Gentlemen are abſurd enough to anſwer in the Affirmative, to all theſe Queſtions, I ſhould ſcarely think it worth while to give them a Reply; and, till they do it, neither Invective nor Declamation can make any Impreſſion upon me. I ſhall think my Conſcience acquitted, if I give my Vote for enabling his Majeſty to fulfil his Engagements upon the Continent;

First,

Firſt, Becauſe, I am, in my own Heart, convinced that it is for the Intereſt of *England*, were all Conſiderations of his Majeſty's Perſon and Dominions out of the Queſtion, to ſupport the Balance of Power in *Germany*, and not to ſuffer *France* and her Allies to overſet it.

Secondly, Becauſe *Great Britain* muſt become contemptible beyond all Expreſſion, was ſhe to ſuffer a Friend and an Ally (putting his Majeſty even upon that Footing) to be menaced, far leſs injured or ruined, for the generous Part he has acted in her Quarrel, and in Support of her Honour and Intereſt.

Thirdly, becauſe I am ſincerely and firmly of Opinion, that if his Majeſty's Electoral Dominions ſhould be attacked, it can be for no other Reaſon, and upon no other Account than for his noble and ſpririted Conduct as King of *England*; and I think, that not to ſupport him in that Caſe would be to betray the Honour of Parliament, which has always expreſſed a Reſolution to defend his *German* Territories in ſuch an Event.

Fourthly, Becauſe I am perſuaded the whole Commerce of *Great Britain* all over *Europe* muſt be deſtroyed ſhould ſhe be unactive upon the Continent at this alarming Juncture, and I think that the Expence ſhe is put to by his Majeſty's Engagements, is the leaſt that ſhe can poſſibly incur, when the Purpoſe is ſo ſalutary and momentous.

Having thus, I hope, to the Satiſaction of you and my Friends juſtify'd the Conduct I have purſued, and am determined to purſue, with regard to our ſubſidiary Engagements, I ſhall now proceed to a few Obſervations with regard to the immediate State of Affairs between us and *France*. There, I own that I am a little ſingular; for, tho' I am of Opinion in favour of our ſubſidiary Engagements, yet I am extremely clear as to the Juſtice and Expediency of the Hoſtilities we have commenced, and are ſtill carrying on by Sea againſt *France*, and that we could not by any other Means obtain Satisfaction or Security.

The Court of *France*, I am ſenſible, has filled all *Europe* with Invectives againſt our Miniſtry for attacking their Ships in Time of Peace, that is, before any Declaration of War

War is made, and they want to repreſent this Procedure as being directly repugnant to the Law of Nations. This Doctrine has been adopted by ſome Gentlemen at home, who, I believe, wiſh ſincerely well to their Country, and who would be glad that our Proceedings ſhould be as conformable as poſſible to the *Law of Nations* and the *Principles of Public Equity*. I ſhall readily admit, that a formal Indiction, or, if you will, a Proclamation ought to precede all War. The Bounds of this Paper do not admit, that I ſhould ſtate a Diſtinction which is underſtood in modern Policy, but is not authorized by the Law of Nations, between Reprizals and Hoſtilities, and between Hoſtilities and War. For, whether that Diſtinction is underſtood or not, our preſent Conduct certainly may be juſtified, and reconciled to the Principles of the pureſt Equity. If we are making Repriſals, who made them neceſſary? If we are commiting Hoſtilities, who gave the Provocation? And if we are even carrying on a War, who is to blame? Certainly, the Party who committed the firſt Injuſtice, by his Conduct, authorized Repriſals to be made upon him. If he continues to ſupport that Injuſtice by Force, it is immaterial by what Word you term

term the Operations againſt him, whether by that of *Hoſtilities* or *War*. No Terms can be more expreſs than thoſe ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* for the Evacuation of the Neutral Iſlands by the *French*. No Aſſurances could be more ſtrong or ſolemn than thoſe given by their Miniſters and Governors for her punctually fulfilling that Article. But how ſhamefully was it firſt *evaded*, then *diſregarded*, and then *broken*. The Stipulations which regard the Diviſion of Territory, Intereſt and Power between us and *France* upon the Continent of *America*, are equally expreſs; yet our Territories were invaded, our Subjects butchered, and our Allies overaw'd, overpowered, or debauched from our Friendſhip in a Time of profound Peace, and without regard to the moſt ſolemn Proteſtations of Friendſhip, which the Court of *Verſailles* was at that Time making to that of St. *James*'s.

Who was then the Agreſſor? Who begun War without declaring it, and broke their Faith, without preſerving ſo much as a decent Appearance? The *French* undoubtedly. They were inſolent enough, even not to deny it; and they ſupported their Inſolence by Power. Their King's Commiſſioners

ners to his Clergy, proclaimed (tho' prematurely) that the great Taxes their Maſter had laid upon his Subjects were well expended, becauſe they had put him in a Condition to demand Reſpect by Sea. The Meaning of which was, that they had enabled him to carry into Execution all that Syſtem of iniquitous Power, which his Miniſters had form'd againſt the *Engliſh* in *America*. The Conſequence ſoon proved this Conſtruction to be right in Defiance to our moſt earneſt Remoſtrances, in Diſregard of our repeated Warnings. A Fleet was fitted out, a large Body of Land Troops was embarked, and ſent to *America*, and our Enemies, happily for us, were ſo infatuated, that they over-ſtrain'd their Power, by the Violence of their Attempts. I am not yet authoriz'd to name any Particulars, to juſtify my ſaying that their Deſigns were ambitious beyond Bounds, and cruel without Precedent. But, be that as it will, enough of their Conduct appear'd to all the World, to juſtify our treating them as Enemies both here and in *America*: And this Part of our Hiſtory and their's is ſo recent, and has been ſo fully explain'd, that I ſhall not enter into any particular Detail of our Injuries, and their Injuſtice.

But

But, ſay the Advocates for *France*, why had not *Great Britain* recourſe to the Law of Nations, as *France* never refuſed to do her Juſtiee? And why did ſhe commence Hoſtilities without any previous Declaration of War? There ſeems, no doubt, to be ſome Weight in this Objection, but a very ſmall Degree of Attention to Terms will remove it. In the mean while, I muſt aſk your Indulgence, if my Sentiments on this Head, are ſo ſingular that I can appeal as yet to nothing in Print that I know of, to ſupport them.

The Laws of Nations is a Term by which I cannot bring myſelf to underſtand either more or leſs, than the Practice of a very few Nations, who having the Advantage of Letters, tranſmitted their Tranſactions to Poſterity. Such were the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, the *Ægyptians*, and one or two other States. Some of theſe Tranſactions are very whimſical, and others, eſpecially thoſe of the *Romans*, are repugnant to every Principle of natural Juſtice and common Humanity. Authors, however, have made Shift to collect ſome of the moſt unexceptionable amongſt them, and *this Collection, with a few Commentaries of their own*, they have dignified with the Appellation of *the Law of Nations:* A Term which I think has

no

no Manner of Meaning, excepting that which I have aſſigned to it.

But if the Law of Nations is no other than the Practice of a few Nations, how can it operate in Caſes that could not poſſibly come under their Cognizances, great Part of which, (and indeed the only Part that is applicable to the preſent Difference between *England* and *France*,) turns upon the Laws and Limits of Territory; and is intended to regulate the Conduct of Princes towards one another in territorial Diſputes. But we are to obſerve, that the Bounds, Situations and Contents of their Territories were fixed and known. The Practice of former Ages, and at ſimilar Conjunctures was, in ſuch Caſes, a ſufficient Direction. And, in Caſe of any Doubt, they had generally ready Evidences and living Witneſſes to produce. When they had not, the Appeal was made to Arms. I am willing enough to allow that ſuch Precedents, or if you pleaſe to call them, Laws, ought to be deciſive in thoſe Parts of Europe where the ſame Preciſeneſs of Deſcription takes place.

But how does the Caſe ſtand with regard to *America*, which was diſcovered upwards of 1400 Years after the Date of any ſuch Precedents? Recourſe, no Doubt, muſt be

had to written Evidences, and theſe have been appealed to on the Part of *Great Britain*. *France*, on the other Hand, takes Subterfuge in ſcientifical Principles arbitrarily laid down, and magiſterially purſued. She has form'd ſuch Partitions of Territory in *America*, as beſt ſuit her own ambitious Views. She has chriſtened whole Nations by other Names than thoſe they had always born, and have put Conſtructions upon the Words of Treaties, that never were dreamt of before. Not contented with confining thoſe Diſputes to the Cabinet, ſhe brought them into the Field, and ſupported by Power, what ſhe claimed through Injuſtice. It is, therefore, ridiculous in her to appeal to the Law of Nations in a Controverſy, which it is impoſſible ever ſhould come under their Cognizance, or to think that *England* will lie by for the Event of a Diſpute amongſt Commiſſaries, which may laſt for fifty Years; while, at the ſame Time, *France* behaves in ſuch a Manner, as if that Diſpute was already ſettled in her Favour, by erecting Forts upon Territories that have been always underſtood to belong to *England*, and in making Diſpoſitions which prove ſhe is determined to maintain by Power, what ſhe cannot poſſeſs by Juſtice.

I have not heard that the *French* have even pretended that *Great Britain* begun to act hoſtily upon the Territories in Diſpute between

between us, while the Deciſion of them was left to the Cabinet. But I am well ſatisfied in my own Mind, that *France* did: And that had the Conferences between our Commiſſaries and her's laſted to this Hour, ſhe would have gone on, in the mean while, to erect her Forts, to debauch our Friends, the *Indians*, to march her Armies, and to ſtrengthen her Acquiſitions, till *Great Britain* muſt either have tamely given up all the Points in Diſpute, or have been obliged to retrieve them at an Expence too greater, if poſſible, for their Value.

I here thought of entering into a particular Detail of the Uſurpations made by *France* upon *England* in *America*, and of ſhewing the infamous Chicanery with which ſhe has hitherto conducted the whole of the Diſpute between us. I likewiſe intended to ſhew the dreadful Conſequences to *England*, if the Maritime Power of *France* was not immediately check'd: But as theſe are Points, which I think are agreed upon by all Parties amongſt us, (nay, they ſeem to vie who ſhall be moſt ready to urge them,) I ſhall not enter upon them at preſent.

What I have ſaid, will, I hope, convince you that my preſent Behaviour in Parliament, is ſuch as becomes an honeſt Man, and an *Engliſhman*; who has nothing to hape,

hope, but from the Welfare of his Country; and nothing to fear, but from her Enemies. Uninfluenc'd as I am by Ambition, and unconnected with Party, my ſole Study is to preſerve that good Opinion of my Friends, that plac'd me in Parliament, by a ſteady and diſintereſted Conduct there. And if this Paper ſhall have any Effect to that Purpoſe, I ſhall not think the few Hours I have beſtow'd upon it, miſemploy'd.

I am, Sir, with great Eſteem,

Your moſt obedient Servant.

FINIS.